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ABSTRACT

Throughout the fifties and sixties the methodology of second-language teaching underwent a radical change in response to new communication needs, and under the influence of structural linguistics and behavioral psychology. Unfortunately, the effort did not produce all of the results expected, and this probably for two reasons: on the one hand, it was based on a linguistic and psychological foundation which was much too elementary and limited and was soon put in question in its own right; on the other, it did not take sufficient note of the characteristics of the learners. At the same time, disciplines such as psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics made their appearance and developed alongside linguistics and psychology, contributing in the process fresh information concerning the acquisition and use of languages as instruments of communication. Since then, it has become possible to speak of a renewal and a diversification of second language pedagogy in the light of these disciplines, which take better account of the characteristics of the groups and individuals involved, in particular of their language needs, their attitudes, their motivations and their learning strategies. The last part of the report outlines the methodological implications of this new approach and illustrates them with the help of some recent findings. (Author)

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MEETING OF EXPERTS ON DIVERSIFICATION OF METHODS AND TECHNIQUES FOR TEACHING A SECOND LANGUAGE OR FOREIGN LANGUAGES WITH REFERENCE TO THE AIMS IN VIEW, LEVELS AND AGE GROUPS, SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

Paris, Unesco House, 15-20 September 1975

THE CONTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE SCIENCES TO THE DIVERSIFICATION OF SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING METHODS IN THE LIGHT OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LEARNERS

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SUMMARY

Throughout the fifties and sixties the methodology of second-language teaching underwent a radical change in response to new communication needs, and under the influence of structural linguistics and behavioural psychology. Unfortunately, the effort did not produce all of the results expected, and this probably for two reasons : on the one hand, it was based on a linguistic and psychological foundation which was much too elementary and limited and was soon put in question in its own right ; on the other, it did not take sufficient note of the characteristics of the learners. At the same time, disciplines such as psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics made their appearance and developed alongside linguistics and psychology, contributing in the process fresh information concerning the acquisition and use of languages as instruments of communication. Since then, it has become possible to speak of a renewal and a diversification of second language pedagogy in the light of these disciplines, which take better account of the characteristics of the groups and individuals involved, in particular of their language needs, their attitudes, their motivations and their learning strategies. The last part of the report outlines the methodological implications of this new approach and illustrates them with the help of some recent findings.

I. An assessment of the first linguistic approaches to second-language teaching.

The forties and fifties were marked by a thoroughgoing renewal of the methodology of second language teaching which can be attributed essentially to the conjunction of two factors :

(a) the large-scale manifestation of new communication needs, principally of an oral nature, leading to a new and more precise definition of the objectives behind second language teaching ;

(b) the influence of recent developments in structural linguistics and behavioural psychology.

For a long time it was customary to teach second languages whether German, French or English with the idea that, like Latin or Greek, there were useful above all for developing the intellectual faculties of students and giving them direct access to the classical texts of foreign literatures. The result was a teaching based on reading, and on translation into the written, or literary language.

Little by little the rapid twentieth-century development of the means of communication, as well as the multiplication of international contacts and exchanges, focussed attention on the significance of being able to communicate orally with one's fellow-man. The revelation of these new demands for oral communication laid bare the inadequacies of traditional methods of teaching second languages and encouraged pedagogues to turn towards linguists and psychologists in an effort to bring about a methodological renewal with their help. In practice, once one recognizes that the ability to communicate orally constitutes an important, if not a priority goal of second language teaching, one discovers that :

(1°) the traditional primers and courses offered instruction in a written language quite different from the spoken language in use and of little value as an instrument of oral communication ;

(2°) traditional methods, which made use of essentially analytical and deductive techniques (by this is meant that the systematic learning of forms and rules preceded their use in utterances) were unfitted to facilitate the acquisition of automatic reactions such as are demanded by everyday oral communication.

To overcome these deficiencies, attempts were made to develop the so-called direct methods which accorded great importance to oral communication, but these attempts were far from systematic and lacked a scientific basis. Since the beginning of the century, however, the psychology of learning and structural linguistics had made notable and significant progress (Cf. the works of Bloomfield and Skinner). Therefore, pedagogues had addressed themselves to psychologists and linguists (delighted in their own right to find such a vast testing-ground for their theories) in order to strengthen the basis of their initiative to renew the teaching of second languages (for a description of this movement in the U.S. see W. Moulton's Linguistics and Language Teaching in the United States, 1940-1960).

The first contribution of structural linguistics was to furnish descriptions of the object constituting the priority target of the new pedagogy, namely the spoken language in use, and to draw attention to the differences, especially significant in the case of certain languages such as French and English, between the spoken and written codes. In addition, the American structuralists gave the spoken language priority over the written form just as Saussure had done. This principle was taken up once more by the proponents of the new methodology who

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initiate the learning of a second language with a completely oral phase and in general respect the following learning sequence : listen, speak, read, write. As to the description of the oral language, linguists introduced new data which proved extremely useful in the teaching of phonology and morphology ; their contribution was less in the field of syntax where they ventured little up to the sixties and almost negligeable in the case of semantics and lexicon which they omitted from their field of study. Again, the attention given to usage underlined the notion of lexical frequency, which had been developed with the aid of statistical or quantitative linguistics to produce frequency lists such as Le Français fondamental, which played an important part in determining the content of many language courses (see Voix et images de France).

The second contribution of structural linguistics lies, no doubt, in its conception of language as a system - a notion developed by Saussure at the very beginning of the century. To conceive of language as a system is to recognize that the elements composing it only have value in virtue of the relations which oppose and unite them : paradigmatic relationships or relationships of selection between elements which can occupy the same place in the utterance, such as the phonemes /s/ and /z/ in coussin (cushion) and cousin (cousin), poisson (fish) and poison (poison) ; syntagmatic or combinatory relationships between morphemes which succeed one another in an utterance (for example, the relations or order, agreement and rection (or government) between the words in the sentence : nous nous intéressons à la pédagogie (we are interested in pedagogy). One is also forced to acknowledge that two elements from two different languages, for example, the Spanish /s/ and the French /s/ or the French word rivière and the English word river can never have exactly the same value since they occupy different positions in differing systems. Such a conception of language is formally at odds with current practices in traditional teaching methods : the rote learning of lists of words and the senseless repetition of paradigms out of context, word for word translation and phonetic correction executed without reference to a phonological system. The new methodologies place emphasis on the need to present units in, and have them function in terms of, a linguistic context, that is to say, in structures such as the proposition and the sentence, and this from the very beginning of the learning process. Hence, the generalized use of dialogues and the introduction of pattern drills is based on the give and take of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations in the sentence.

Where behavioural psychology was concerned, and in particular the conditioning theory of Skinner, the advocates of the new methodology noted the conception of language as a network of habits, an associative game between stimuli and responses dependent on reinforcement in a social situation. The teaching of a language is here considered as a mechanical process of forming habits with the help of stimuli and visual and sound responses (as, for example, with the sentences of a dialogue and the images corresponding to them in an audio-visual method).

Successful learning depends on the observance of certain conditions :

(1°) the student needs to be constantly active and made to give replies continuously ; hence, the introduction and rapid development of language laboratories which enable each student to express himself ten times more than in a normal class ;

(2°) the student must give a high percentage of correct replies ; consequently, the exercises must progress in a rigorous manner by small steps so as to

provoke as few mistakes as possible on the part of students (in contrast to traditional exercises which increase the difficulties and constitute real traps for students) ,

(3°) the correct reply must be rewarded immediately ; this reinforcement can take the form of an intervention by the teacher or previous recording of the correct reply on tape ;

(4°) to ensure the lasting acquisition of the structures studied, the student will repeat them by drilling exercises to the point of saturation (over-learning) at which juncture they become habitual, automatic ; here, again, the language laboratory proves itself to be a precious ally of the teacher.

A certain number of pedagogical principles are generally associated with these conditions : avoidance of all recourse to, or reference to the mother tongue and translation exercises which can only multiply and aggravate the blocking factors intrinsic to the learning of a second language, avoidance of all explanation or reflection which again would simply hinder the acquisition of automatic linguistic reactions.

The central problem with this concept of learning, if one leaves aside for the moment the mechanical nature of the exercises, is deciding on the best rate of progression. This problem is a function in particular of the frequency of the elements taught, as we have already seen in the case of lexicon, and of the degree of difficulty or complexity. Depending on the courses, the difficulty and the complexity are determined by the second language system alone or on the basis of a contrastive analysis of the systems of the student's mother-tongue and of the second language (in accordance with criteria which have never been defined with precision). In any event, progression is determined much more in function of the characteristics of language systems than in function of the characteristics of the learners concerned. Differences in work-rhythm with respect to the subject constitute the sole means of coming to terms with differences in aptitude between students.

The application of these linguistic and psychological principles is illustrated by the numerous audio-visual and audio-lingual courses and by the pattern drills programmes elaborated from the forties to the sixties.

At first glance, it would seem that all of the necessary conditions for achievement of the new objective - teaching an instrument of oral communication - were brought together in these courses. For the first time, the structures of the spoken language in use were presented in a systematic manner together with a methodology inspired by recent research into learning.

Great hopes were placed in this new linguistic and psychological approach to the teaching of a second language. However, after a moment of blind enthusiasm, it became necessary to take a second look. As the sixties wore on, it gradually became evident that the results were disappointing or at least did not correspond to the breadth of the reform instituted.

Although the results obtained with beginners, especially through audio-visual and intensive audio-oral courses, seemed impressive to begin with (students proved capable of understanding and of producing more rapidly and more correctly many structures of the spoken language and obtained better test results) it soon became clear that the new approach also presented several major defects. We shall content ourselves with three examples :

(a) the new courses do not seem to develop the ability to speak freely and to communicate in the varied circumstances of everyday life. Gumperz avows :

"It is fair to say that we have not been completely successful in providing students with the linguistic ability they need to communicate effectively in speech communities where these languages are spoken". (Linguistic Repertoires, Grammars and Second Language Instruction, p.82). Such, too, is the paradox described by Jakobovits with reference to this new approach to foreign language teaching : "The irony of the matter lies in the fact that the 'New Key' approach, unlike the traditional methods in which reading classical literature was considered a worthwhile activity in itself, does not attach an intrinsic value to grammatical knowledge per se, but views habit drills as means towards achieving communicative skills, yet it seems that these very activities are the chief roadblocks to attaining meaningful skills ('liberated expression', as it has been called)" (Foreign Language Learning, p. 84).

Moreover, many teachers have realized that the students who obtained good results in the acquisition tests were often incapable of maintaining a conversation in a foreign language (see Savignon, Teaching for Communicative Competence : A Research Report, p. 154). One may argue that the majority of audiovisual or audio-oral methods contain a so-called exploitation phase, which should, in theory, make it possible to bring the student from the strict conditioning of pattern drills to freer expression in communication situations, but this is illusory, as Savignon pertinently reminds us : "When so-called "directed communication" is introduced, it is not communication at all, as the structural frame, if not the lexical content, remains in the control of the instructor" (ibid. p. 153). In short, the courses did not make it possible to attain the desired objective.(1)

(b) These new courses, far from interesting the students, seem to bore them to the point of even discouraging them from learning new foreign languages.(2) Here is what Hester has to say in this respect : "Everywhere, we see a tendency to abandon foreign languages, among various other disciplines, because they are a hindrance to the young learner's freedom, self-discovery, and natural "creativity" (Teaching a Living Language p. viii). It is difficult to see how one can develop the ability of students to communicate in a foreign language if they do not feel the need to use it because they have been denied an opportunity of expressing their tastes and needs.

(c) Even if the principles of this new approach appear relatively effective in assuring acquisition of the primary elements of a foreign language, they seem ill-fitted for application at the other teaching levels ; it is certainly no accident that a very large number of audio-visual and audio-oral courses exist for the first stage of learning a foreign language while courses for advanced levels are rare and less systematic. "Unfortunately", write Allen and Widdowson, "the generous provision of basic courses has coincided with a striking lack of new material specially

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(1) Without even aiming for the ambitious goal of communicative competence, a large-scale experiment conducted in Pennsylvania showed that the new audio-lingual approach (with or without use of language laboratory) did not result in students acquiring a better knowledge of the second language even in its spoken form than with the traditional method (Cf. P.D. Smith, A Comparison of the Cognitive and Audiolingual Approaches to Foreign Language Instruction - The Pennsylvania Foreign Language Project).

(2) A great deal of evidence from pupils is given in C. Burstall's work, French in the Primary School.

designed for intermediate and advanced students. As a result, students who have become accustomed to an orderly progression of graded materials, simple explanations and easily-manipulated drills during the first two or three years of language learning find that these aids are suddenly withdrawn when they reach the end of the basic course, and that they are left to find for themselves with little or no guidance at a time when the language is rapidly becoming more difficult". (Teaching the Communicative Use of English, p. 2).

Thus, the evaluation of this "linguistic" approach to the renewal of foreign language teaching turns out to be less favourable than one might have expected. Also, it seems only natural to pose the question why an initiative based on scientific data taken from psychology and linguistics, and in which so much war invested, should end up as a relative failure ?

II. The teaching of second language communicative competence in the light of recent sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic research.

The relatively negative results of this first linguistic and psychological approach to a second language teaching seem to be due to two related causes :

(1°) too limiting and inadequate a conception of the desired objective, namely mastery of a second language as a means of communication ;

(2°) lack of scientific instruments to clarify this objective, combined with reference to at least partially inadequate linguistic and psychological models.

A. Use of language varieties as means of communication.

What exactly is meant by possessing a language as a means of communication ?

First of all, it is not enough to be able to read and write a sentence correctly as in traditional teaching, nor is it sufficient to be able to understand and to produce, rapidly and automatically a correct sentence in response to certain elementary stimuli, as in audio-visual and audio-oral teaching ; what is necessary is to be able to use sentences appropriate to a linguistic context and to a given situational context. In other words, one must be capable of combining sentences in larger communication units such as text and dialogue and as well be able to make use of utterances appropriate to certain communication situations (cf. Allen and Widdowson, Teaching the Communicative Use of English).

Secondly, to possess a language as a means of communication not only means being able to transmit information and put questions on the Universe surrounding us ("Madame Thibaut ouvre la porte", (Mrs Thibaut opens the door") "Vous avez combien de pièces ?" ("How many rooms have you ?") etc. (See Gumperz, Linguistic Repertoires, Grammars and Second Language Instruction, p. 84). In reality, we speak less to describe the universe about us (what Jakobson (Essais de linguistique générale I, p. 213) calls the referential, cognitive or denotative function of language) than to establish contact with someone else (phatic function), to express our attitude vis-à-vis our interlocutor or the theme of the conversation (expressive function) or to make the addressee react (conative function). If one thinks of the situation of a student landing in a foreign country, there is no doubt that what matters most for him is to establish and to maintain contact with the natives in order to participate to the greatest possible extent in their community life. In practice, of course, it often happens that these contacts, or these communications, even where the referential content of the message is perfectly transmitted, are blocked or falsified by ignorance of the expressive, phatic or conative traits of the dialogue. Consequently, to possess a language as a means of communication is not only to master the referential function, but the expressive, phatic, conative and even poetic functions as well.

Thirdly, and as a corollary, if one is to communicate satisfactorily in a linguistic community, it will not suffice to know a pure, homogeneous monolithic language ; one must be capable at least of understanding, and if possible, using the different varieties of language made use of in the community in question. Jakobson (ibid. p. 213), insists on the fact that the global code of a language constitutes a system of sub-codes in reciprocal communication and that every language embraces many simultaneous systems, each of which is characterized by a different function. This is a very important point because

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when we communicate with another person the choice of the type of language used is often more revealing in terms of the affective, professional and social (actual and future) relations of the speakers than the content of the conversation itself. To possess a language as an instrument of communication, then, is also to understand the main sub-codes and to know how to use them in the appropriate situations.

In order to illustrate the argument, let us take a concrete example familiar to contemporary sociolinguists, but which has never been dealt with systematically in language courses : the use of forms of address and greeting. In a great number of languages, the speaker has a choice between two pronouns in addressing his interlocutor : tu and vous in French, ty and vy in Russian, du and Sie in German, du and ir in Yiddish, etc. Similarly, the speaker has generally a choice between different forms of address : Christian name (Jacques), family-name (Dubois), title and family-name (Monsieur Dubois) and different forms of greeting (Salut ! (Hello !), Bonjour ! (Good day !), Bonjour Monsieur ! (Good day, Sir !). Again, in communication these choices often have a greater significance than the purely referential content of the messages, because they give to each of the speakers precise information, especially in the first moments of a new relationship (Cf. for example, the importance of the French use of "tu"). For those expressing themselves in their mothertongue, the use of these expressions in relation to the affective and social position of the interlocutor is so automatic and natural that it causes no problem. Such is not the case for the foreigner because, even if this practice is governed by features which are probably universal, the norms of usage vary from one community to another (See Brown and Gilman : The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity, Slobin : Some Aspects of the Use of Pronouns of Address in Yiddish, Friedrich : Social Context and Semantic Feature : The Russian Pronominal Usage). Lack of knowledge of the rules applying to forms of address in a certain community, in respect of comprehension as well as expression, can have far more disagreeable consequences for the community life of a foreigner than faults in grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation, even where these are serious and repeated. It so happens that language courses do not deal with these problems and language teachers generally only possess a vague idea as to the rules of use governing these expressions.

When one directs attention in this way to what is implicit in mastering a language as an instrument of communication, one becomes aware immediately that the language theories and descriptions on which the pedagogy of second language teaching is based, irrespective of whether one has traditional, structural or transformational generative grammars in mind, are inadequate. In reality,

(a) they simply describe the system and not the use of the language, whereas as Candlin writes : "Useful though such an input from several linguistic grammars may be, the question begged is clearly that if a pedagogical grammar is at the basis of LT materials, and if such materials have as their aim to lead the learner to "knowledge" of the L2, then they, and the pedagogical grammar, must be as concerned with rules of language use as they are with rules of grammaticality and well-formedness of sentences" (The Status of Pedagogical Grammars, p. 58).

(b) they only deal with the structure of the sentence and neglect communication units such as the text and dialogue ; as Widdowson says, "If we are to teach language in use, we have to shift our attention from sentences in isolation to the manner in which they combine in text on the one hand, and to the manner in which they are used to perform communicative acts in discourse on the other" (Directions in the

Teaching of Discourse, p. 69). In order to do this, one must possess a text grammar which presents the rules for combining phrases in a text, and a grammar of discourse, presenting the rules governing the use of sentences in communicative acts.

(c) they systematically study only the referential function and neglect the other functions of language. Frake notes : "To ask appropriately for a drink among the Subanun it is not enough to know how to construct a grammatical utterance in Subanun translatable in English as a request for a drink. Rendering such an utterance might elicit praise for one's fluency in Subanun, but it would probably not get a drink (...). Our stranger requires more than a grammar and a lexicon ; he needs what Hymes has called an ethnography of speaking : a specification of what kinds of things to say in what message forms to what kinds of people in what kinds of situations" (How to Ask for a Drink in Subanun, p. 127). We shall return to Hymes' contribution later on.

(d) they only study one language variety, considered as homogeneous, representative, and neglect the other varieties which form part of the verbal repertoire of a linguistic community.

To make up for the inadequacies of the linguistic contribution to the teaching of second languages, it is necessary to turn towards another discipline which over the past twenty years had undergone an extraordinary development and which is specifically interested in the use of languages in our societies : sociolinguistics. Gumperz put the relevant problem clearly in 1965 : "It seems necessary, at least for the purpose of applied linguistics, to reopen the question of the relationship between linguistic and social facts. More specifically, the question arises : given a grammatical analysis of the languages involved, what additional information can the sociolinguist provide in order to enable the language teacher to give his students the skills they need to communicate effectively in a new society ?" (Linguistic Repertoires, Grammars and Second Language Instruction, p. 84).

The study of the use of different language varieties developed rapidly in the sixties under the influence of Hymes who called it the ethnography of communication or the ethnography of speaking. Hymes defines its object as follows : "This is a question of what a child internalizes about speaking, beyond rules of grammar and a dictionary, while becoming a full-fledged member of its speech community. Or it is a question of what a foreigner must learn about a group's verbal behaviour in order to participate appropriately and effectively in its activities. The ethnography of speaking is concerned with the situations and uses, the patterns and functions, of speaking as an activity in its own right". (The Ethnography of Speaking, p. 101). This definition alone reveals immediately how well the preoccupations of research workers in the field of ethnography of communication link up with the needs of pedagogues.

The outstanding feature of this approach is the overall examination of the verbal activities of a linguistic community and the study of all of the language varieties of which it makes use (that is to say its verbal repertoire) instead of concentrating on the description of one of these codes or sub-codes. The verbal exchanges within a community are analyzed in communication situations (hunting, meals, courtship) which are subdivided into more limited, and essentially verbal, communication events (conversation), themselves formed from communication acts (order, question, joking, etc.) (Hymes : Models of Interaction of Language and Social Life).

One cannot overestimate the interest and the importance of this concept of communication act for the teaching of a language. It may be worthwhile

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pointing out that it was the subject in the same period (in a completely different framework which nonetheless links up with our argument in many respects) of a profound study on the part of philosophers of language such as Austin (How to do things with words) and Searle (Speech Acts). We will return to this aspect in the last chapter in examining the definition of the content of language courses. Order and the question, to return to the example we have given, are certainly dealt with in all grammar books and language courses, but in much too restrictive a manner. Generally, in studying order and question in a language one learns linguistic forms (for example, est-ce que or inversion in French) traditionally associated with these notions. It is clearly inadequate as a response to the needs of communication, as much on the level of comprehension as on that of expression, and this for two reasons : on the one hand, it is not enough to be familiar with interrogatory forms if one wants to ask for information in a given situation (many virtuosos who pose the question in the language laboratory encounter the greatest difficulty in obtaining information in everyday communication) ; on the other hand, question or order acts may be accomplished in many other ways, verbal and non-verbal, than are found in grammars and in courses composed of pattern drills. American studies have shown the great variety and the generally indirect character of questions with reference to factors such as the status of interlocutors ; the way in which one asks for a drink varies according as it is one's wife, one's secretary or a waiter one happens to be addressing : the range of available verbal forms is vast, from simple suggestion of an indirect and very discreet kind up to the straightforward request (Cf. Ervin-Tripp : On Sociolinguistic Rules : Alternation and Cooccurrence p. 245-247). Since the conventions which regulate acts vary from one language to another and form part of the communicative competence of the members of a linguistic community, they must be learned sooner or later by the foreigner.

Each speech or communication act may be divided up in turn into a certain number of components, of which the following are the most important :

- the form and content of the message : the expression is no doubt governed by different norms depending on whether it occurs in an official letter or a friendly note, and whether one speaks of business or adventure ;

- the setting (at once geographical, temporal and psychological) : the norms differ also from the kitchen (family breakfast) to the class-room, and to the corner-cafe, and in function of the gay or relaxed atmosphere ;

- the participants (speaker, addressee, hearer) : an awareness now exists of the different roles (father, husband, neighbour, professor, etc.) an individual plays in turn in a community and the language varieties he uses ;

- the channel of communication (oral, written, telegraphic, etc.) : a request is not made in the same fashion by telephone, by letter, or by telegramme;

- the norms of interaction and interpretation : from one community to another, people speak more or less loudly, with more or less animation, and remain more or less close to the interlocutor : because of the raised voice and the violence of the language, a minor dispute in a Marseilles family would be interpreted by a Swiss French speaker as a serious row ; conversely, a fairly long silence between the occupants of a room, something completely normal in Swiss French society, would be taken by a Frenchman from the Midi as evidence of insult, contempt or bad humour.

To arrive at a grammar of the use of language varieties it is still necessary to establish the sociolinguistic rules in function of the undermentioned features which govern the correct use of utterances. Ervin-Tripp (On Sociolinguistic Rules : Alternation and Cooccurrence) distinguishes three kinds of rules :

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a) sequencing rules

b) alternation rules

c) co-occurrence rules (horizontal and vertical).

The first of these determines the order of acts constituting one kind of communication event. Schegloff has shown that the sequence of acts constituting a communication event such as the beginning of a telephone conversation, for example, obeys very strict rules, even if those speaking are unaware of the fact. Hymes and Ervin-Tripp propose to characterize the structure of such communication events by using writing rules analogous to those employed in generative grammars. If mastery of the sequence of acts constituting a communication event such as the beginning of a telephone conversation is automatic for a French-speaking person, it is by contrast always difficult for a foreigner because usage differs from one linguistic community to another. Thus, it is very important, for the teacher or the creator of pedagogic material concerned with teaching communicative competence to be familiar with the rules which govern the execution of such an event.

But it is not enough to be familiar with the sequence of communication acts constituting an event ; one must also be capable, at each stage of the conversation, of choosing amongst the possible linguistic variants, that which is appropriate to the communication situation. To pursue our example a stage further, one's response to a telephone call will differ, depending on whether one is at home or at work, on whether or not one guesses in advance the identity of the caller, on whether one finds one's wife, one's director or one's client at the other end of the line. We have seen that strict rules apply to the use of forms of address depending on the relationship of power and solidarity existing between the speakers. Here one finds the alternation rules which Ervin-Tripp schematizes with the help of flow charts indicating the way in which selection of the appropriate form for the situation takes place in response to the different pertinent features. These are rules which govern the choice between tu and vous in French and enable one to discern that

(17) T'es allé où ? (Where were you ? (familiar))(on thepart of a student to his professor in class) is inappropiate, while

(1) Monsieur, où êtes-vous allé ? (Where were you, Sir ? (formal)) (same situation)

(4) Paul, t'es allé où ? (Paul, where were you ? (familiar) (to a class-mate in the yard)

are perfectly in agreement with the norm.

Finally, in conversations one must respect the co-occurrence relations between the elements of one or more utterances. Horizontal co-occurrence between two elements belonging to the same domain : syntax, lexicon, morphonology ; in this way, one can characterize as abnormal the utterance

(15) Où tu allas ?

which combines two syntactical elements, interrogation without inversion or est-ce que and past tense, belonging to two incompatible varieties of French. Vertical co-occurrence, between two elements belonging to two different domains ; in this way, one can label as abnormal the utterance

(18) T'es-z-allé où ?

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There is little doubt that such systematic descriptions of the use of language varieties will produce in the near future more complete and useful information for the pedagogue than that in traditional or structural grammars. They are nonetheless insufficient to meet the needs of pedagogues because it is still necessary to know how this communicative competence is acquired in order to be able to elaborate adequate teaching material. Only a theory of language embracing the system, use and acquisition of a language can serve as the basis for elaboration of a methodology for second language teaching.

B. The acquisition and teaching of communicative competence

In raising the delicate problem of the acquisition and teaching of communicative competence, it is useful, especially if one wants to avoid repeating the errors of the past, to give some thought to two very pertinent remarks of Jakobovits.

The first is that the results of research into language acquisition are at this stage too slight to categorically demonstrate and support the validity of the greater part of the informations and recommendations given by theoreticians to practitioners (cf. Foreign Language Learning, p. 47). Psycholinguistic theories and descriptions can do no more for the moment than advance hypotheses and suggestions which need to be subjected to empirical verification ; in consequence, the dogmatic principles which for far too long dominated linguistics as applied to the teaching of language must give way to more intensive pedagogic observation and experimentation.

The second remark is that our ability to learn a language exceeds by far our ability to describe and to explain how this language is made, how it is used and how it is acquired (cf. op. cit. p. 103). The proof of this is that we learn rapidly, not only in our mother tongue, but also in a second language, to make use of constructions which are still beyond the reach of linguists, sociolinguists and psycholinguists. It is consequently absurd to pretend to teach systematically, scientifically, a subject which one can only describe and explain in a very incomplete way. It is essential, on the other hand, to use to its maximum the capacity of students to discover and learn.

Though not very developed, recent research on the acquisition of language shows clearly that the mind of the student is not a tabula rasa on which one mechanically records language structures by a process of systematic conditioning, and that one must bear in mind the highly significant contribution of the learner to the learning process. According to Jakobovits, learning consists in a discovery or progressive reconstitution of the structures and rules of language use by inductive and deductive inferences guided by an innate familiarity with linguistic universals and by the observation of data of the second language in communication situations (Ibid. p. 25). This discovery and this reconstitution may be accomplished in different ways, in function of the needs, aptitudes and learning strategies of the individuals concerned. In other words, there is no one ideal way of acquiring a language, but as many methods methods as there are types of individual.

It seems, finally, that it will be necessary to abandon the hypothesis underlying the dominant conceptions in language teaching, according to which the acquisition of linguistic competence, that is to say the ability to construct grammatical sentences, should precede acquisition of communicative competence, that is to say the ability to produce utterances appropriate to communication situations. (cf. Jakobovits, op. cit. p. 32).

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We shall now attempt to examine the implications of this concept of learning for the selection, progression and presentation of language data to be provided to the student. It is clear that they are at odds in many instances with the dogmatic principles taken over from behavioural psychology in the fifties. On the first point, one may ask if it is really necessary or desirable to proceed to a very strict selection of the linguistic content of a course. E. Ingram writes : "If Chomsky is right, the teacher's function is primarily to provide conditions in which the innate language acquisition device can operate as effectively for the L2 as it has done for the L1. The teacher's task becomes the provision of appropriate data for the language acquisition device (LAD) to process in order to output knowledge of the language". (Implications of the Theory of Innate Ideas for the Foreign Language Teacher, p. 127).

In other words, the function of didactic material is to present the student at the opportune moment with the linguistic materials likely to facilitate the discovery and acquisition of the structures or rules of the second language. As students have different learning strategies, needs and interests, it is impossible to foresee, and consequently, to select, in advance the linguistic materials which each individual will need. There is even the risk, where too strict a selection is made, of blocking the operations of the language faculty in providing him with too few linguistic data. Although a strict selection of the course content seems undesirable, a certain selection is necessary because one cannot teach every thing. This selection should be arrived at, not in terms of lexical units and grammatical structures, but in terms of communication acts and situations, in function of the needs and interests of such and such a category of learners as we shall see in the chapter which follows. But with this settled communicative and situational framework, it is best to expose students from the beginning of the course to a large range of linguistic data so as to permit them to develop and to test their inferences concerning the structure and use of the language. We shall return to this in the last chapter. As to the establishment of a progression, it would seem, if one is to listen to psychologists, that its importance in the elaboration of didactic material has been overestimated ; E. Ingram has this to say : "The teacher should capitalize on the fact that the LAD will determine the grammar of the language and the imposition of a predetermined structure is unnecessary and undesirable." (op.cit. p. 128).

There is no ideal progression definable in advance in accordance with linguistic criteria, but as many possible progressions as there are individuals and learning strategies. In imposing a strict and predetermined progression of linguistic data one runs the risk of blocking the learning process. Moreover, Gumperz shows very well that from the moment one adopts a situational approach, as he did in his Hindu and Urdu courses, the problem of progression resolves itself naturally. (Linguistic Repertoires, Grammars and Second Language Language Instruction, pp. 87-89).

As to presentation of the subject-matter be taught, one may extrapolate from the hypotheses of psycholinguists the following implications for the elaboration of didactic material :

(1°) As the student must discover and reconstitute little by little the rules which govern the structure and use of the language on the basis of the materials presented to him, it seems advisable to accord a large place, from the beginning to the audition of authentic documents (for example audio or video recordings) presenting communication situations and acts likely to correspond to his needs and his interests (cf. Ingram, Implications of the Theory of Innate Ideas for the Foreign Language Teacher, pp. 127-129).

(2°) Students should be encouraged to express themselves freely as early as possible, as soon as they feel the desire or the need : "Liberated Expression"

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(2°) Students should be encouraged to express themselves freely as early as possible, as soon as they feel the desire or the need : "Liberation Expression"

and the practical use of a foreign language is both desirable and possible at even the very beginning stage of study" (Foreign Language Learning, p. 32 ; a claim confirmed by Savignon's experiment : Communicative Competence).

Besides, it seems that the only useful exercises are those which aim at developing communicative competence by contrast with pattern drills (cf. Jakobovits, op.cit. pp. 25-26 ; again, this is confirmed by Savignon's experiment results : op. cit.).

(3°) To facilitate development of free expression and to promote the acquisition of communicative competence, one must avoid organizing didactic material in function of the notion of correction :

> "The child must be allowed to 'try things out', to make errors, and to gradually achieve understanding (...). Similarly the traditional emphasis on 'accuracy' and 'care' is dangerous and, in inhibiting language use and experimentation is positively harmful to language development." (Implications of the Theory of Innate Ideas for the Foreign Language Teacher, p. 130 ; see also Savignon Teaching for Communicative Competence, pp. 156-158).

In particular, no attempt must be made to penalize the student for his errors because they constitute for him a very useful means of verifying the validity of a hypothesis, measuring the field of application of a rule and determining the necessary generalizations concerning the use of language as an instrument of communication (cf. Corder : The Significance of Learner's Errors).

(4°) The didactic material should be conceived in such a way as to leave a great deal of room for observation, reflection and explanation, all of which play an important role in the discovery and acquisition of the rules of use of the second language ; Candlin comments : "To reverse a dogma, it would be meaningful for them to talk about the language they are learning to perform in, because critical and teacher-guided observation of himself and of others in performance situations is only what we cannot deny in a process that is tacitly in continuous action by the language learner" (Sociolinguistics and Communicative Language Teaching, p. 43).

(5°) Finally, let us contravene one last dogma by suggesting that one should not hesitate to make use of a comparison or a translation between the mother tongue and the second language because, as Widdowson mentions (The Deep Structure of Discourse and the Use of Translation), the latter can make an important contribution to learning.

III. Towards a pedagogy centered on the language needs, motivations and learning strategies of the learners.

An examination of the contribution of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics research over the past fifteen years reveals the richness of language activities and the diversity of learning strategies implied in the acquisition of communicative competence. Faced with the wealth of possibilities available, how can one define the objectives and methods of second language teaching ? It can only be done by beginning with whatever it is that characterizes the learners. The essential difference between the new and previous approaches lies in the conversion of a teaching pedagogy into a learning pedagogy. For a long time, in fact, methodology was determined in function of the teacher and the subject to be taught, or the means of teaching, as one can see from the development of audio-visual methods and language laboratories over the past few years. More often than not, however, the courses offered are linear, monolithic, strictly programmed, and intended for an undifferentiated public, and take no note of the characteristics of the learners involved ; they claim to teach everybody the same material in the same way, which explains their partial failures.

The only means of improving second language teaching is to centre it on the characteristics of the learner, to take stock of what it is that the individual and the group want to learn and of the best way they can go about it, while recognizing that these characteristics vary considerably from one individual or from one group to another (the very title of a collection published recently by Oller and Richards : Focus on the Learner is indicative of this realization). We shall now examine the three fundamental points of the new learning pedagogy in turn : analysis of language needs, knowledge of attitude and motivation, study of learning strategies.

A. Analysis of language needs.

We come to grips with a relatively new problem here, one brought to light by the rapid development of second language teaching to adults. Up until recently, the teaching of second languages was seen to mainly by the school, and at the secondary level. At this level, in language as in other disciplines, one aims essentially at giving the student some general knowledge because this is judged to be an indispensable preliminary to specialist training and because it is impossible to foresee the specific knowledge that the child will need once he is an adult. Moreover, the child generally feels satisfied with general knowledge at this stage because he experiences no need to apply his language notions in everyday life. Besides, time is of no consequence for him, not only because he does not have any immediate need, but also because school learning does not enter into competition with family and professional tasks and responsibilities.

The problem is completely different and possesses greater urgency for the adult who must reckon with the pressure of the economic and social upheavels of the age. On the one hand, an education of a general knowledge kind is of little use to him since it does not enable him to acquire the communicative competence which he needs in his different spheres of activity. On the other, because of his professional responsibilities, the adult can only devote a limited amount of time to learning. It is necessary, therefore, to develop a methodology which enables the adult to acquire in a minimal amount of time the knowledge corresponding to his language needs. But this learning cannot be carried out once and for all : the societies in which we live are for the most part so open and mobile that the adult must expect frequent and relatively important changes in his geographic and socio-professional milieu which will demand of him, especially at the level of language activity, constant learning and adaptation.

As a result, one can foresee a fairly supple methodology comprising relatively limited objectives and learning stages which will be self-sufficient, without in any way blocking access to later acquisitions.

This new approach presupposes a systematic analysis of language needs for the different publics involved, as well as a redefinition of the objectives and content of courses in function of these needs. In the past few years, many studies have been carried out in different countries but a unified frame of reference is still lacking. At the moment, the most intensive research in this field this field is the work of a group of experts which first met in 1971 at the instigation of the Council of Europe and under the direction of Prof. Trim, and which has taken as its basic objective the following : study the possibility of organizing teaching and learning of living languages in a unit/credit system permitting a consideration of the needs, motivations and individual aptitudes of the adult student (see Les langues vivantes dans l'éducation des adultes). (1)

So far, motivations and aptitudes have not been systematically studied within the framework of the project. However, a model for the definition of adult language needs was developed by Richterich and one of its major assets is that it links the analysis of needs to acquisition of the corresponding language operations (see Systèmes d'apprentissage des langues vivantes par des adultes, pp. 35-66).

Richterich takes as his point of departure the hypothesis that the language needs of adults in the case of a second language are determined by the language situations in which they find themselves and the language operations which they are called upon to effect in such situations, insofar as these are foreseeable. Each component of the model, language situations and operations, is broken down into a number of categories in line with the approach developed by Jakobson and by Hymes of communication events, situations, acts and functions (cf. above chapter II, A). The overall model may be schematized and illustrated as follows :

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(1) The author of these lines, member of the group of experts of the Council of Europe since its creation, has been greatly inspired by the new ideas developed in this group. This section on language needs owes much to the work of R. Richterich, the section on the definition of course content (IV, A) to the work of D. Wilkins and J. Van Ek on the threshold level in English and to the CREDIF working-group on the threshold level in French, finally, the section on the role of multimedia systems (IV, C) to the reflections of J. Trim and M. Kuhn. Nonetheless, this report only alludes, and in a personal way, to certain aspects of the project. For a more complete and objective presentation, the interested reader should refer to the documents published regularly by the Council of Europe.

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LS = Language situation

A. Agents (in particular social, psychological and language roles).

B. Moment (hour, duration, frequency, etc.).

C. Place (region, place, milieu, etc.).

LO = Language operations

D. Functions (expression, description, argumentation, request, etc.).

E. Object (action, fact, sentiment, opinion, etc.).

F. Means (spontaneous speech, writing, reading, etc.).

LN = Language needs defined by analysis of the above categories.

LA = Language acts, operational translation of needs.

L_1S = Learning situation

G. Agents (in particular identities and role of teachers and learners).

H. Moment (hour, duration, frequency, etc.).

I. Place (country where one speaks or does not speak the language taught, class, family, etc.).

L_1O = Learning operations

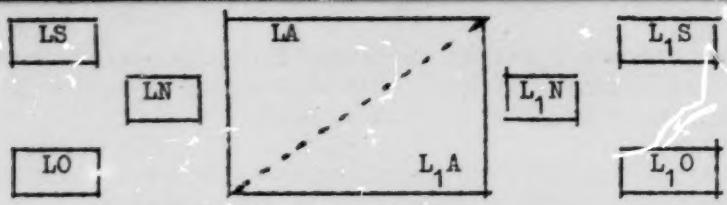
J. Functions (listening, understanding, reading, speaking, etc.).

K. Object (sentences, utterances, etc.).

L. Means (teachers, sound and visual aids).

L_1N = Learning needs as defined by analysis of the various categories.

L_1A = Learning acts, operational translation of needs.



LS = Language situation

A. Agents (in particular social, psychological and language roles).

B. Moment (hour, duration, frequency, etc.).

C. Place (region, place, milieu, etc.).

LO = Language operations

D. Functions (expression, description, argumentation, request, etc.).

E. Object (action, fact, sentiment, opinion, etc.).

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The model also contains a scale of prevision which should make it possible to determine the degree of foreseeability of needs by category ; a scale of analysis, to determine the degree of specificity of needs required in each case, and a correspondence scale which should permit measurement of the degree of correspondence between a language act and the need to which it is a response (for example, asking for a packet of cigarettes in a kiosk) and the learning act (for example repeating in a language laboratory the sentence "I would like a packet of blue Gauloises"). This last element appears particularly interesting because its importance has been constantly underestimated in the teaching methodologies of second languages. Finally, the model is completed by an analytical classification of the categories of adults who may need to learn a second language (op. cit. pp. 67-94).

Richterich's model, which can be easily adapted to non-adult publics, constitutes a valuable instrument for the analysis of language needs in the different categories of learners and in consequence for the definition of course content in terms of communication situations and acts (see the application made of it by van Ek in defining a course content aimed at ensuring a minimum communication competence in English : The Threshold Level in a European Unit/Credit System for Modern Language Learning by Adults). One only regrets that the analysis of components, situations and language operations entails long enumerations of particular roles, places, moments, means, etc. ; it should be possible to avoid an excessively detailed description of needs by reducing these elements to a more limited number of categories or features, such as is attempted in sociolinguistic description.

B. Attitude and motivation.

Over and above the language needs of learners, a learning pedagogy should take account of their attitude and their motivation vis-à-vis the second language, two factors which have been neglected or treated in summary fashion in the teaching of languages. The problem, it is true, did not crop up with much force in school, where the public is captive and course attendance obligatory. Efforts were simply made to sustain the pupil's motivation during the lesson either as in the traditional school by varying activities, or by keeping students constantly active and in providing regular reinforcement/reply to their work, as in the audio-visual or language laboratory class. This was not enough, as Hester's remark quoted in chapter 1 testifies, and the results of a survey conducted in England by Burstall (2) make clear : 50% of students passed from a positive attitude to the second language at the age of 8 to a negative attitude after three years of study. The problem presents itself even more acutely in the case of teaching of adults ; here, freed of obligatory education and overrun with professional or family activities, they abandon their second language courses, and in a very high proportion, as soon as their motivation is no longer stimulated. This lowering of motivation, visible as much in the case of the adults as in that of children, is no doubt partly attributable to the second language courses actually given and more specifically to a content that is too general and too far removed from the necessities of

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(2) Reported by M. Gagnon in "L'attitude de l'élève comme facteur dans l'apprentissage d'une langue seconde". Acts of the IVth colloquium of the Canadian Association for Applied Linguistics. Quebec, CIRB, 1974, p.127.

communication, and to a style of presentation that is too directive and mechanical (3) . Thus, it is possible that a more diversified methodology such as is presented here, better adapted to the needs of learners from the point of view of course content and from that of learning strategies, would permit at least a partial resolution of the problem of instrumental motivation (that is to say one aiming at a utilitarian goal such as succeeding in studies or professionally). But Lambert and Gardner who carried out a large number of experiments in Canada over the past dozen years on the effects of attitude and motivation on the acquisition of second languages, have drawn attention to the crucial importance of another factor in the success or failure of the learner : this is integrative motivation (so-called because it reveals an interest in the other community which leads to a desire to be integrated in it) (see Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning).

The studies of Lambert and Gardner, which deal mainly with the learning of French by English-speaking Canadians, show that success depended on two independent factors : on the one hand, what we already knew, namely the aptitude and verbal intelligence of the learner ; on the other, the attitude and motivation (in particular, the integrative orientation towards the French-speaking community). This last point is interesting from more than one point of view.

First of all, it draws our attention to the fact that the considerable sums and efforts invested in the renewal of second language pedagogy may well be useless if one fails to take note of the crucial role of attitude and motivation in learning. Again, it opens up new possibilities of action for the pedagogue : if, in fact, success factors such as aptitude and verbal intelligence are for the most part beyond the control of the teacher, it should be possible to influence the attitude of the student towards the second language. Gardner and Lambert observed in particular that the attitudes of students' parents towards the other community greatly influenced the orientation of the children's attitude. The same may be true of the school, and especially of the language course.

If one examines in greater detail the composite features of this more or less integrative attitude : degree of anomy (feeling of alienation, dissatisfaction or social insecurity) ; of authoritarianism (antidemocratic ideology characterized by generalized prejudices towards strangers) ; of ethnocentrism (an attitude whereby all social phenomena are referred to one's own culture and endow it alone with value), of social inquisitiveness, then one is forced to admit that these profound characteristics of personality and attitude have become fully crystallized thanks to the social milieu before the process of learning a second language begins and consequently lie for the most part beyond the influence of the teacher. The large-scale study conducted by Lambert and Klineberg in 1967 (Children's Views of Foreign People : a Cross National Study) showed that it was towards the age of ten that children have the most open attitude and are the most receptive to linguistic and cultural differences. The experiment of Savignon (Communicative Competence) of which we have already spoken, which deals with the teaching of French to American students at the University of Illinois, indicates that the idea of granting a large place in the language course to the discovery of the socio-cultural milieu

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(3) These two points appear clearly in the observations of C. Burstall in French in the Primary School : "pupils who dislike French frequently instance the difficulty of understanding the tape-recorded sections of the French lesson as the main reason for their dislike French, while those who like French tend to describe the tape-recorded material as dull, repetitive and boring. The majority of pupils express a strong preference for realistic communication situations, not "just listening to a tape" (p. 107), and further on : "To judge from the pupils' own comments, there is a strong case for redefining the objectives of teaching French, to meet the varied different needs" (p. 108).

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and of the civilization of the second language (which might have developed the integrative attitude of the learners) has no influence on success. It seems difficult to develop the integrative orientation of learners to improve their chances of success in learning a second language. Lambert draws our attention to the negative effect of another element which dominates language courses, particularly those which are illustrated, and to which a positive value has always been attached because it supposedly motivated students : a pleasantly caricatured way of representing in the dialogues, texts and pictures, the speakers and the socio-cultural milieu of the second language. Lambert (op. cit.) shows, in fact, the negative effect of these sterotypes (the Frenchman who is talkative, mocking and a drinker of red wine, etc.) on the attitude of the learner towards the second language. Thus, the course based on these methods, far from sustaining the motivation of the student, merely exacerbates his prejudices and his reserves in respect of the other language and the other community, instead of dissipating them, as would undoubtedly have been the case with the use of authentic sound and visual documents. We shall return to this point, which constitutes an important element of the new methodology, in Chapter IV.

Instrumental and integrative orientations are not the only factors influencing learning motivation in the case of a second language. Burstall who, in 1970, carried out a vast inquiry into the teaching of French in the primary schools of Great Britain (French in the Primary School : Attitudes and Achievement) underlines a factor which strikes her as more important than the preceding two in terms of success : "Early achievement in French affected later attitudes towards learning French and later achievement in French to a significantly greater extent than early attitudes towards learning French affected the subsequent development of either attitudes or achievement" (Factors Affecting Foreign-Language Learning, p. 17). In other words, one's experience, happy or unhappy, at the start of learning a second language, seems to have crucial importance for one's later attitude towards this language and one's chances of success in learning it.

C. Learning strategies.

The methodologies of second language teaching based on behavioural psychology assumed that a good means of learning existed which was valid for all, the progression of which was determined by the difficulty of the structures studied and the presentation of which was governed by a few general principles such as the priority of the oral over the written, the breaking up of the learning task into small stages and the constant reinforcement of student responses. The positions were relatively dogmatic : beginners who complained that they could not learn without written aids or the adolescents who protested against the monotony of the pattern drills at the language laboratory, were obliged to follow the strict directives of methodological hand-books. There was a refusal to acknowledge the characteristics of the learner in favour of a uniform and universal approach. But, as we have seen in Chapter II, nothing permits one to suppose that all individuals learn in the same manner and everything indicates that the manner proposed by the first audio-lingual methods was not the best possible. It suffices, moreover, to observe the way in which a child or an adult learns a second language on the spot to realize that another way of learning does exist and that it is completely different since it does not respect the principle of a progression by small stages, has no recourse to pattern drills, and is nonetheless effective.

We are not supposing that this means of learning is possible in the school setting but deduce from this observation that different learning strategies exist, depending on the situation and no doubt on other factors such as socio-cultural milieu, age, previous knowledge and so on, of the learner.

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Unfortunately, our ignorance in this field is blatant, even in the case of the acquisition of the mother tongue, and all the more so in the case of a second language. The problem is that it is very difficult to gather information on the cay in which an individual learns a language, because one has to do with mental processes which escape direct observation. The most promising approach in this terra incognita from the pedagogue's point of view is undoubtedly that which was developed rapidly in 1969 following an article by P. Corder (The Significance of Learners' Errors) : the analysis of errors (see the collection published recently by Richards under the title : Error Analysis, Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition). The description of the errors committed in the learning of a second language may be envisaged in relation to different goals : prevention of errors, evaluation of acquisitions and ignorance of student etc. We are only interested here in errors in the degree to which they constitute a privileged source of information on the learning strategies developed by the student.

For a long time it was thought that especially bright students made errors in a second language mainly because of three factors : the student's laziness, interference due to the mother tongue and poor progression of the course. Let us leave the first factor aside ; it is impossible to analyze it exactly, but it may be linked to motivation, of which we have already spoken. As to the second, always judged crucial, and which led to rejection of translations, resulted in no explicit reference being made to the mother tongue in some courses, and in the sixties brought about a considerable development of contrastive analyses between the structures of the mother tongue and those of the second language in order to anticipate and prevent interference, its importanc e has been greatly reduced in the light of recent research. If one examines the results of several studies conducted in very different milieux, one notes that the proportion of interlingual errors (interference with the mother tongue) varies between 50% (see Tran's thesis on the learning of Spanish by English-speaking Canadians), 21% (Olsson's study on the learning of English by adolescent Swedes) and 5% (Dulay and Burt's study on the learning of English by Spanish-speaking children, 5 to 8 years of age). None of these studies justifies generalizations and definite conclusions ; they suggest, nonetheless, that the role of the mother tongue in the learning of a second language is not as negative as has been claimed, and that it would be desirable at this stage to transfer emphasis to other aspects of learning strategies for the second language. The fact is that studies we have referred to reveal a high proportion of intralingual errors (erroneous generalizations at the interior of the system of the second language) ; one can even see, in fields such as morphology or the syntax of interrogation and negation, that the errors committed in the second language were the same and appear in the same order as those committed by a small child learning his mother tongue. (see words of Garvie, Natalicio and Natalicio, Raven and Milon, mentioned in the bibliography).

Given that these errors clearly constitute an obligatory stage in the learning of the mother tongue and end up by being corrected automatically without outside help, one may form the hypothesis that this is at least partly true of the second language, and this in turn leads us to suppose

(1°) that they are useful, even necessary for the learning of the second language and that it is useless, perhaps even prejudicial, to attempt to prevent them at any price, as is recommended by one Skinner approach ;

(2°) that they are less serious and undoubtedly easier to correct later on than might appear to be the case.

These hypotheses, if they are verified, are extremely important for the renewal of pedagogy. In fact, all the methodological propositions which we develop in this report on the need to communicate freely from the beginning of the learning process, the use of authentic documents, the individualization

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These hypotheses, if they are verified, are extremely important for the renewal of pedagogy. In fact, all the methodological propositions which we develop in this report on the need to communicate freely from the beginning of the learning process, the use of authentic documents, the individualization

and autonomy of learning - all of them activities which generate errors on the part of the learner - have been condemned up until now by the pedagogy of the second language, precisely because of an exclusively negative concept of the role of error in learning.

As to the third traditional source of errors - an insufficiently graduated presentation of, and progression in the teaching material - recent research in error analysis has brought to light information which puts in question certain widely accepted opinions in this regard. They confirm, first of all, that a certain proportion of the errors committed was due neither to interlingual interference nor to intralingual generalizations, but to teaching material. Moreover, they show that these errors were not the result of a poorly graduated progression, but due to the conception of the exercises themselves and in particular of the pattern drills. Olsson (A Study of Errors) and Jain (Error Analysis : Source, Cause and Significance) reveal that the mechanical character of these exercises and the paucity of linguistic data which they offer the learner reinforce the natural tendency of students to overgeneralization and lead them to form false hypotheses concerning the structures of the second language. These results confirm the observations made in Chapter II on the danger of making too strict a selection of the data given the learner and using certain kinds of exercises too intensively.

Lastly, the analysis of errors casts a new light on the fundamental problem of what basic elements are to be given the learner. Up until now, the principle of the identity between data to be given the student (input) and the knowledge which he would acquire (output) was implicitly admitted. Audio-visual courses present the student with exactly those structures, the mastery of which constitutes the objective of the course. It is not clear that this is the best way to proceed : every pedagogue has had occasion to observe that certain structures, the object of intense work, are not at all, or are badly, mastered, while others, which have not been treated explicitly, are acquired with no trouble whatsoever. As a result, one may formulate the hypothesis that it is sometimes easier to lead the student on to a knowledge of certain linguistic structures by indirect means. This hypothesis is supported by a very interesting experiment of Valdman (Error Analysis and Pedagogical Ordering : The Determination of Pedagogically Motivated Sequences). While teaching the French interrogation with est-ce que and subject inversion to American students, Valdman observed that they produced a high proportion (a third) of constructions of the form Pourquoi vous êtes allé à Bloomington ? - something he had not taught them and which could not be accounted for either by interference with English, the mother tongue, or by contacts with French-speaking individuals. In other words, the students had learnt forms which had not been taught them. On the basis of this observation, Valdman began a second experiment by teaching these forms, only introducing the est-ce que construction later on ; this time the students produced a majority of correct est-ce que forms. This result is very important for three reasons : first of all, it shows the utility of using indirect methods which may often involve simplified forms (4) (and partly agrammatical ones in terms of the standard norm) of the kind found in creoles and sabirs (see Hymes, Pidginization and Creolization of Languages) in order to attain the desired objectives ; secondly, and as a corollary, it confirms the hypothesis according

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(4) H.G. Widdowson presents a very illuminating exposé of the perspectives and difficulties of this approach in The Significance of Simplification.

to which it is possible from the beginning of the learning process to precede grammatical correction by communicative competence without in any way prejudicing this process ; thirdly and lastly, it opens the way to new methods of establishing progressions, no longer in terms of the description of the system of the second language, but in terms of observation of the learning strategies of the student.

This rapid overview of recent research has enabled us to reveal a certain number of global hypotheses concerning learning strategies which have interesting methodological implications. However, we have not made much progress in respect of one point which strikes us as very important : the diversification of these strategies in function of certain characteristics of learners such as age, socio-cultural milieu, etc. Recent work in this area is insufficiently developed to permit us to draw valid conclusions.

IV Methodological implications.

In the preceding chapter we had occasion to notice with respect to the attitudes, motivations and strategies of learning, that our scientific knowledge appears very slight indeed when compared to our ignorance. Nonetheless, we do at least possess certain data from which we may be able to draw some implications for a methodology of second language teaching. These implications should not be interpreted in the light of new dogmas but simply as suggestions likely to orient reflection and research. We will treat successively of the problems of definition of course content in function of language needs, individualization of the learning process, utilization of authentic documents, and the role of multi-media systems.

A. Definition of course content in function of language needs.

The results of the analysis of language needs (cf. III,A) leads one to redefine the objectives and the content of language courses in a way that is new by comparison with traditional manuals and audiolingual courses. It is no longer a question of simply learning to construct correct sentences, but of learning to realize in an appropriate way speech acts in communication situations. As it happens, the reference grammars used by the authors of language courses treat only of the structure of sentences and even then neglect the modalities which express the point of view of the speaker. It seems useful, therefore, to produce in rough outline here an analysis of the structure of speech acts and of their conditions of realization in order to show how course content may be defined in these terms. This sketch, too brief for such a complex subject, should not be taken too literally and is included for its illustrative value alone. Each speech act may be analyzed so as to produce a certain number of composite elements which may be schematized as follows :

IN REACTION TO AN ACT "A_1"/ THE SPEAKER "S"/ EXECUTES ACT "A_2"/ AIMED AT

INTERLOCUTOR "I"/ IN SITUATION "S"/ WITH REFERENCE TO "R".

Each of these composite elements of the act can determine certain aspects of its realization in a language. Let us take, for example, speech act "A_2" "to ask someone for information" ; its linguistic realization depends on the following factors :

(a) the nature of Act "A_1" which precedes it in the communication event : one does not ask for information in the same way if one is addressing someone for the first time, or if one wants some information in addition to that already given by the interlocutor ;

(b) the relations of power (or authority) and solidarity (or intimacy) between the two speakers : there are differences between the way one asks a friend, a stranger, a superior or a subordinate for information ;

(c) the communication situation : between the same speakers the situation can impose a personal relationship or a transactional one (characterized by neutralization of personal relations and respect for the reciprocal rights and duties of the speakers) which would govern a more or less formal request for information ;

(d) the object to which the speech act refers : one does not ask for information in the same way in respect of a sports' article or a death ;

(e) the communication channel, written or oral.

The reader may have noticed that in this analysis, and by contrast with Richterich's, the composite elements of the act are not defined in terms of specific elements belonging to the external world : role of father or director, post-office or railway-station, but reduced to a limited number of more abstract pertinent features such as personal/transactional in order to reach a level of generalization which seems essential for any pedagogic application.

Now that the conditions governing the different realizations of a speech act in diverse communication situations have been briefly outlined, it may be useful to examine in more depth the question of content. Each speech act is accomplished by an utterance in line with conventions to which we shall return. The content of the utterance may be analyzed in different types of predications embedded one in the other. At the first level are found predicates which, for the purposes of the expose we shall call locutives ; these determine the kind of relation established between speakers. We shall work essentially with three kinds of locutive predicates (in naming them we have drawn on Austin's terminology in How to Do Things With Words) :

(a) exercitives, represented by verbs such as prier (to pray), supplier (to supplicate), demander (to ask), proposer (to propose), suggérer (to suggest), conseiller (to advise), recommender (to recommend), ordonner (to order), permettre (to permit), autoriser (to authorize), défendre (to forbid), interdire (to prohibit), etc.

(b) expositives : admettre (to admit), avouer (to avow), contester (to dispute), nier (to deny), confirmer (to confirm), assurer (to assure), promettre (to promise), jurer (to swear), constater (to certify), dire (to say), annoncer (to announce), affirmer (to affirm), avertir (to warn), etc.

(c) behabitives : remercier (to thank), louer (to praise), féliciter (to congratulate), approuver (to approve), excuser (to excuse), pardonner (to pardon), blâmer (to find fault with), désapprouver (to disapprove), reprocher (reproach), etc.

These predicates may be combined ; for example, there is the exercitive-expositive combination : je te demande de me dire si ... (I am asking you to tell me if ...) which is very common since it is at the basis of interrogative utterances.

At the second level are found the modal predicates or modalities, which play a preeminent role in communication, since they express the point of view of the speaker concerning whatever it is he is talking about. One may distinguish three basic types of modal predicates :

(a) logical modalities, represented in French by douter (to doubt), supposer (to suppose), penser (to think), croire (to believe), savoir (to know), impossible, improbable, peut-être (perhaps), possible, sembler (to seem), paraître (to appear), probable(ment), nécessaire, falloir (to be necessary), to name the most common ;

(b) affective modalities : heureux (happy), content, satisfait (satisfied), surpris, triste (sad), mécontent (discontented), regretter, avoir peur (to be afraid), inquiet (anxious), espérer (to hope), souhaiter (to wish), désirer, préférer, vouloir (to want), exiger (to demand), etc.

(c) aspectual modalities : with the two series venir de (has just done something of other), être en train de (is in the process of), aller (is about to), commencer à (is beginning it), se mettre à (begins it), continuer à (continues to), cesser (stops), finir de (finish a current activity), etc.

The reader may have noticed that in this analysis, and by contrast with Richterich's, the composite elements of the act are not defined in terms of specific elements belonging to the external world : role of father or director, post-office or railway-station, but reduced to a limited number of more abstract pertinent features such as personal/transactional in order to reach a level of generalizat[illegible] which seems essential for any pedagogic application.

Now that the conditions governing the different realizations of a speech act in diverse communication situations have been briefly outlined, it may be useful to examine in more depth the question of content. Each speech act is accomplished by an utterance in line with conventions to which we shall return. The content of the utterance may be analyzed in different types of predications embedded one in the other. At the first level are found predicates which, for the purposes of the expose we shall call locutives ; these determine the kind of relation established between speakers. We shall work essentially with three kinds of locutive predicates (in naming them we have drawn on Austin's terminology in How to Do Things With Words) :

(a) exercitives, represented by verbs such as prier (to pray), supplier (to supplicate), demander (to ask), proposer (to propose), suggérer (to suggest), conseiller (to advise), recommender (to recommend), ordonner (to order), permettre (to permit), autoriser (to authorize), défendre (to forbid), interdire (to prohibit), etc.

(b) expositives : admettre (to admit), avouer (to avow), contester (to dispute), nier (to deny), confirmer (to confirm), assurer (to assure), promettre (to promise), jurer (to swear), constater (to certify), dire (to say), annoncer (to announce), affirmer (to affirm), avertir (to warn), etc.

(c) behabitives : remercier (to thank), louer (to praise), féliciter (to congratulate), approuver (to approve), excuser (to excuse), pardonner (to pardon), blâmer (to find fault with), désapprouver (to disapprove), reprocher (reproach), etc.

These predicates may be combined ; for example, there is the exercitive-expositive combination : je te demande de me dire si ... (I am asking you to tell me if ...) which is very common since it is at the basis of interrogative utterances.

At the second level are found the modal predicates or modalities, which play a preeminent role in communication, since they express the point of view of the speaker concerning whatever it is he is talking about. One may distinguish three basic types of modal predicates :

(a) logical modalities, represented in French by douter (to doubt), supposer (to suppose), penser (to think), croire (to believe), savoir (to know), impossible, improbable, peut-être (perhaps), possible, sembler (to seem), paraître (to appear), probable(ment), nécessaire, falloir (to be necessary), to name the most common ;

(b) affective modalities : heureux (happy), content, satisfait (satisfied), surpris, triste (sad), mécontent (discontented), regretter, avoir peur (to be afraid), inquiet (anxious), espérer (to hope), souhaiter (to wish), désirer, préférer, vouloir (to want), exiger (to demand), etc.

(c) aspectual modalities : with the two series venir de (has just done something of other), être en train de (is in the process of), aller (is about to), commencer à (is beginning it), se mettre à (begins it), continuer à (continues to), cesser (stops), finir de (finish a current activity), etc.

These modalities may be combined among each other with certain restrictions which we will not enter into at this stage.

Finally, at the third level, one finds the propositional content of the utterance, with classical verbal predicate of the lire, manger, casser, etc. (to read, to eat, to break), variety and nominal arguments of the enfant, pomme (child, apple) kind. We will not elaborate on this level because it corresponds to the referential function of language of which we have already spoken in Chapter II and it is also consequently the only one which has been made the object of systematic treatment in grammars and language courses.

To summarize the approach sketched out here, we shall analyze the content of the utterance : "Elle doit commencer à travailler" (She must begin to work), as follows :

propositional content : elle travaille (she works) ;

\+ aspectual modality : elle commence à travailler (she begins to work) ;

\+ logical modality : elle doit commencer à travailler (1) (she must begin to work) ;

\+ locutive expositive predicate : Je te dis qu'elle doit commencer à travailler (I tell you she must begin to work).

The principal advantage of such an approach is to draw the pedagogue's attention to the elements of the utterance which have an essentially communicative function, by contrast with the propositional content's referential function.

Each utterance may be used to accomplish a speech act of which the illocutive value ("dire" (to say), "ordonner" (to order), "promettre" (to promise), "remercier" (to thank), etc.) is determined by a combination of numerous factors, beginning with the locutive predicate in certain conditions (person and tense in particular) ; thus, the utterance "Je t'ordonne de commencer à travailler" (I order you to begin work) which comprises a locutive exercitive predicate may be used with the exercitive value of "giving an order" while the utterance "Il avait ordonné de commencer à travailler" (He gave the order to begin work) which has the same exercitive predicate but does not fulfil the conditions of tense and person (moment and subject of the utterance) may only be used with the illocutive expositive value of "giving information." Conversely, an utterance containing a locutive expositive predicate may assume, under the effect of logical or affective modalities, and in certain conditions (tense, person, intonation, etc.), an exercitive illocutive value.

Examples :

[je te dis que] tu peux sortir (you may go out) (act of permitting)

[je vous dis que] vous devez vous taire immédiatement ! (you must stay quiet immediately !) (act of ordering)

[je te dis que] je veux que tu sortes immédiatement ! (I want you to leave immediately ! (idem).

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(1) A more careful analysis would distinguish between the three modal values of devoir : probability, necessity and obligation which take stock of the three possible interpretations of this sentence : elle a sans doute commencé à travailler" (no doubt she has begun to work), "il faut qu'elle commence à travailler" (she must begin to work), "on la contraint de commencer à travailler" (she is obliged to begin to work).

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One can see more clearly at this stage how the content of a course may be defined and analyzed in terms of diverse composite elements of communication acts. The approach outlined here is developed and applied systematically in French by a CREDIF team within the framework of the Council of Europe project (cf. D. Coste, V. Ferencsi, J. Leclerq, M. Martins-Baltar, E. Papo, E. Roulet : le niveau seuil en français). Beginning with this first level of minimal communicative competence in a second language, and especially in succeeding stages, the choice of speech acts, and of their different composite elements and of their accomplishment in speech in function of the characteristics of the situation and of the speakers, may be oriented by the analysis of language needs of the publics involved along the lines of Richterich's procedure (cf.III, A).

It is evident that the kind of analysis sketched out here is destined more for the teacher and the creator of pedagogic material in order to aid him to grasp the structures and functioning of the language material he uses, than it is for the student, although with certain categories of learners paraphrase and conceptualization exercises referring explicitly to this framework have shown themselves to be very useful. (see H. Besse, Les exercices de conceptualisation and J. Courtillon-Leclerq, Paraphrase et conceptualisation).

B. Individualization of the learning process, developing the autonomy of the learner and use of authentic documents.

How, then, does one present the learner with, and have him work on, those basic language data indispensable to the acquisition of communicative competence in a second language, while respecting the conditions laid down in the preceding chapters : Need to provide data sufficiently rich to illustrate the use of language varieties as instruments of communication in function of the diversity of the language needs, motivations and learning strategies of the individuals concerned ? The only solution is to abandon the idea of a dogmatic instruction destined for an entire class in order to achieve a certain individualization of teaching and thereby accord a large degree of autonomy to learners. It is at once vital (especially with adults, whose availability is limited and irregular), and possible (even with younger publics and despite the fact that the majority of pedagogues consider this orientation somewhat utopian). We will refer to two experiments which testigy at different levels to the possibility and utility of such an approach : the teaching of English to French adults at the University of Nancy and the teaching of German to adolescent Americans at Live Oak College, Morgan Hill, in California. In practice, individualization and autonomy in learning, such as the use of authentic documents (which we will consider further on), only appear utopian if one has not taken the trouble of preparing and seriously testing the conditions in which they are put into effect. M. Cembalo and H. Holec define the characteristics of an autonomous pedagogy in these terms : "In such a pedagogy, the learner-teacher must assume the totality of the learning act, that is to say :

(a) define his objectives : this means analysing his real needs in terms of level 3 objectives (such and such a type of comprehension or of oral or written expression) and evaluating beginning and final levels of required competence in order to attain the goal set ;

(b) define his learning conditions : these conditions are defined in terms of materials (tape recorders, radio reception conditions, original version films, access to library, etc.), in terms of time available, preferred forms of learning, etc. ;

(c) define the content and method of learning : in function of a) and b) ; this means looking for, and organizing documents and determining the utilization techniques best adapted to the learning envisaged ;

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(c) define the content and method of learning : in function of a) and b) ; this means looking for, and organizing documents and determining the utilization techniques best adapted to the learning envisaged ;

(d) proceed with the learning process itself ;

(e) evaluate the results of this learning : measure progress and see if there is a total correspondence between the knowledge acquired and the required knowledge."

(Les langues aux adultes : Pour une pédagogie de l'autonomie, p. 6). However, the Nancy experiment shows that learners are generally not ready to takenon the responsibility of learning and manifest quite strong reluctance in respect of such an approach (see M. Cembalo and M.J. Gremmo Autonomie de l'apprentissage - réalité et perspectives). Hence the necessity of envisaging a double preparation of students, of a technical and a psychological kind, which can be carried out in the form of information or group-reflection sessions. The technical preparation aims essentially at showing the student the different ways of choosing and exploiting a pedagogic document in function of his interests, his aptitudes and his needs, and the different means of evaluating his work. The psychological preparation attempts essentially to dissipate the unfavourable image which the student may have of autonomy in relation to a total instruction, but touches also on other fields such as, for example, modification of the negative attitude of the learner towards his errors which often interfere with communication learning.

G.E. Logan, the organizer of the Oak Hill experiment, arrives at analogous conclusions and affirms that the success of the process depends to a considerable extent on the quality of the instructions (determination of tasks and learning strategies, modes of evaluation) which accompany the pedagogical material (see Individualized Foreign Language Learning : An Organic Process, p.19, which also furnishes many examples).

But to the psychological and technical preparation of the student Logan adds a second condition for success : the variety of pedagogic material : A vital individualized foreign language program is one which offers as great a choice in materials as possible. If true individualization is to occur beyond the single-track, selfpacing phase, there should be steady progress made towards acquisition of materials which will provide for at least the following :

1) Choice of theme or content at all levels ;

2) Sufficient materials at any level (regardless of content) so that certain students can profitably stay at that level longer than "normal" - in essense, repeating that level ;

3) Choice in objectives, such as speaking ability, reading ability, college entrance, advanced placement, job skills, language major, etc. ;

4) Choice in learning mode ;

5) Materials for students to use in interaction ;

6) A variety of cultural materials." (op. cit., p. 93).

Given the relatively limited time and means available to teachers, how is one to find a sufficiently vast and varied material ? As it happens, an inexhaustible and relatively cheap source of material which can be used for pedagogic purposes does exist : the authentic written, oral and audio-visual documents diffused daily by the mass media : press, radio and television in particular. Up until now, these documents have only been used in the teaching of second languages in limited fashion and with limited publics because their utilization was contrary to established ideas : use of a neutralized language,

respect for a progression by small stages from the simple to the complex, implying a rigorous pre-selection of lexical and grammatical content so as to avoid the errors which were considered damaging for learning (cf. I). The collapse of these dogmas (cf. II, B) makes it possible to use authentic documents which reveal today all of their advantages : not only do they offer a diversity, a facility of access and an unequalled capacity for renewal, they are also the only means of providing the learner with information he needs concerning the effective use of language varieties as instruments of communication (cf. II, B). Besides, as the members of the CRAPEL team have shown, recourse to authentic documents constitutes an essential stage in the accession to pedagogic autonomy, not only in the framework of a particular course, but also for the entire existence of the learner (cf. R. Duda, E. Esch, J.P.Laurens : Documents non didactiques et formation en langues).

Finally, the authentic document results in an interesting solution to the delicate problem of the attitude and the motivation of the learner (cf. III, B). As M. Kuhn states so clearly : "Its contribution to the psychopedagogic plan is capital, the early and constant acquaintance with authentic materials constituting for the adult a far from negligeable factor of interest and motivation." (A propos de l'élaboration de matériaux didactiques, p.5). At this level, the contribution of authentic documents is double : on the one hand they permit the learner to discover and acquire the second language with reference to situations, events and themes which concern and interest him directly, sustaining in this way his motivation (doubtless it is also the only effective manner of learning a second language) : again, they offer the learner an authentic and rich image of another way of life which may result in his developing a favourable attitude towards it and the second language (quite the reverse of the anecdotal and stereotyped representations found in traditional audio-visual courses). (2)

The major objection generally brought against the introduction of authentic documents in a second language course (except for a documentary purpose) is the difficulty of the language, which may discourage students and lead them to commit errors. We have seen (III, C) that this last objection is considered less and less significant. As to the first, it may be avoided by a judicious selection and use of documents, even with beginners. The choice of documents is governed by the language needs and knowledge of the learners. If the latter are anxious to satisfy pressing language needs related to their professional life, one may use documents taken from this sphere of activity (articles and technical notices, recordings of lectures, of seminars, etc.). If more general and long-term objectives are sought, then one can make use of easily accessible documents such as newspapers, books, magazines, radio recordings, records, original version films, television programmes. The decisive advantage of this approach : the extraordinary richness of the authentic documents available, makes it possible to meet all, including the most specific, needs of learners. The choice of documents is also dictated by the knowledge of the public in question. With beginners, one can use brief documents, offering a homogeneous structure, even relatively stereotyped as, for example, radio news bulletins or television advertizements ; with more advanced students, one can use longer and more varied documents. One may also have recourse to a combined use of documents of different kinds on the same subject : comparing a radio news bulletin with press-cuttings, television advertizing with a magazine advertizement. In order to serve the learning process, the selected documents should be accompanied by clear instructions

(2) These points are clearly confirmed by the observations of C. Burstall concerning youngf students : "The pupils' preference for realistic teaching materials, noted in the primary school, is also more in evidence after two years in the secondary school. The pupils' most common criticism of their French course materials is that they are too "babyish" in content. One grammar school pupil wrote : "We should read French newspapers (...). Other pupils wanted to learn more about the French

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concerning the objectives being aimed at, the tasks to be carried out, and the tests to be passed (see article referred to and R. Duda, J.P. Laurens and S. Rémy, L'exploitation didactique de documents authentiques). The tests carried out by CRAPEL at Nancy shows the interest and utility of using diverse kinds of authentic documents with diverse types of public to promote learning of the lexicon and grammar, or development of the general aptitude for oral and written comprehension in French and English.

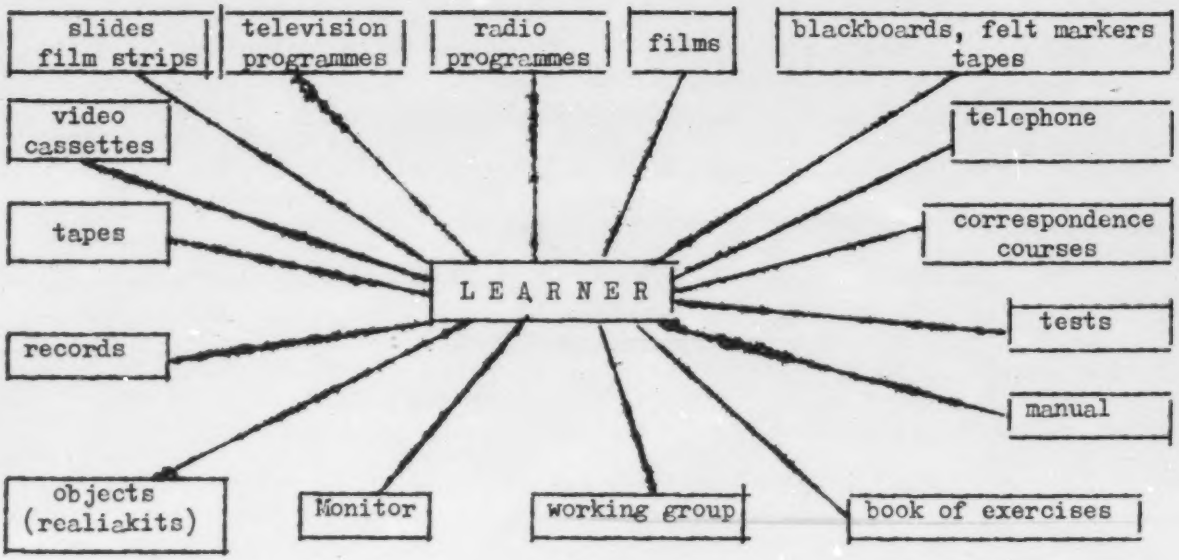
One need not conclude from this short chapter that authentic documents constitute the only useful pedagogic material. Courses can also make advantageous use of traditional didactic instruments such as pattern drills, translation exercises, monolingual or bilingual lexicons, reference grammar book, etc. We have decided not to pursue these matters here since they are well known and much more frequently made use of than authentic documents.

In any event, no matter what type of didactic or non-didactic documents are used, one must abandon linear, monolithic, universal and mechanical didactic material in order to elaborate a more supple and varied material, as much in the content, as in the progression and presentation. This didactic material will appear under the form of modules, each one characterized by a certain content (defined in terms of communication acts and situations), a certain progression and a certain mode of presentation, linked to the use of certain media in accordance with the model sketched out in particular by Stern and Weinrib in an interesting article (French language teaching modules : a new approach to language teaching materials), in the course of which they write : "Instead of offering a fixed preordained progression, modules could be compiled into a "bank" of units which could be used in whatever way they suit a particular course, teacher, or set of students. Eventually, a bank of modules might be considered an alternative to an existing fixed sequential programme. Up to now, the materials producer has presented the teacher with a large package deal, a fully furnished house with all its advantages and disadvantages. We believe that in the future one might well provide a teacher with independent teaching units from which he can construct his own house". (p. 27).

C. The contribution of multi-media systems.

The abandonment of authoritative courses, the individualization of learning, the diversification of pedagogic material, the use of authentic documents - all these innovations imply the introduction of new sources of data for the learner. This is particularly evident in the case of courses intended for an adult public which, for geographical or professional reasons, cannot be brought together regularly in a class-room. The role of media is decisive here, on the condition that they be carefully chosen and integrated into the learning system which is still in fact rarely the case. The following diagram, taken from J. Trim (Provisional Suggestions regarding Multi-media Systems for Language Teaching to Adults) gives an idea of the media which may serve as vectors of basic language data for the learner :

45



At the moment, these media are used in many second language courses, but more often than not in an inadequate way, teaching being more centered on the machine and the pedagogic material than on the learner ; the most striking example is probably that of the language laboratory, the efficacy of which has been put in question by many recent tests (see P.D. Smith, A Comparison of the Cognitive and Audiolingual Approaches to Foreign Language Instruction and P.S. Green, A Comparative Study of the Effectiveness of the Language Laboratory in School). The problem is to select and integrate certain media in a system so as to use them rationally and effectively in function of their possibilities, of their limitations in use, and of their cost, all to the benefit of the learner. It is for this reason, as Trim shows very well (op.cit.) that television, by its capacity to effect a total audio-visual stimulation attaining to a high degree of realism, is perfectly suited to presenting authentic communication situations and acts ; however, it needs to be limited to certain specific uses because of the cost involved ; it is not very economic to use it only for pattern drills or long, authoritarian explanations as is still done much too frequently. Radio, which only diffuses an auditory stimulation, is ill-suited to the comprehensive presentation of communication events, but has other advantages : it lends itself in particular to diffusion of authentic samples of the spoken language (which teachers often only master in an imperfect way) and to explanations for a very large public, with less costly and more mobile means than television (for example, the use of transistors as aids in the teaching of French in the bush schools of Senegal).

Nonetheless, both radio and television are subject to time-table and programming restrictions which considerably reduce their use, especially in the perspective of an autonomous pedagogy. Whence the necessity to look to other aids which permit more individualized work (free choice of the pedagogic moment and material) such as the gramophone, the tape-recorder, and the video-recorder, with documents either pre-recorded by the authors of the courses or recorded directly by the learner from radio or television courses or non-didactic programmes. One must not lose sight, either, of the printed documents, books, books of exercises, newspapers, which, free of all local or temporal constraints, permit maximum individualization of learning at a very low cost ; obviously, they are ill-adapted to facilitate the acquisition of the spoken language, but this objective, even if we have accorded it priority here, is not the only consideration, and there is no doubt that the acquisition of a written comprehension, in particular, will occupy a place that is more

and more important in courses. Finally, the teacher generally retains an important place in the system, not as teacher, but as counsellor and interlocutor.

To illustrate the combination of these different elements in a system, let us take the concrete example of a multi-media course which was elaborated by the BBC at the beginning of the 1970ies and intended for an English-speaking audience of beginner-adults desirous of attaining a minimal degree of communicative competence in spoken German (BBC Multi-Media German Course). It should be noted that this course does not depend solely on individual learning, but also on monitor-supervised group-learning within the framework of the adult education institutions in existence in Great Britain. If it is possible to employ it for part of the learning process, group-work is extremely beneficial for many reasons : emulation (motivation), possibilities of authentic communication, explanation and correction.

The course demands on an average five hours of work weekly of the learner : a half an hour of television, a half an hour of radio, two hours of class-work and two hours of individual work. It comprises the following material : 25 television programmes and 25 radio programmes (distributed over 3 semesters), 3 books and 3 records for the student including the material for individual work, 3 film strips and a teacher's manual offering suggestions for class exercises. The choice and the role of medias in the system was carefully defined in function of the constraints mentioned. Radio and television are used in particular to present the learner with authentic documents on the use of German as an instrument of communication.

If the use of the multi-media system has shown itself to be particularly well-adapted to the teaching of a second language to adults who have bypassed traditional educational establishments, it is also very useful in the case of younger students in compulsory education systems. The individualization of learning is also possible and desirable at this level as we have attempted to show in the preceding chapter, and must surely benefit from the introduction of multi-media systems. Sweden affords an interesting example with the English multi-media course elaborated for Gymnasium students (15 to 16 years) by the TRU (Committee for television and radio in education). The choice of a multi-media approach was principally determined by the heterogeneity in terms of knowledge, aptitude and motivation of the public involved. It was necessary to elaborate a pedagogic material sufficiently rich and diversified to meet the needs and capacities of all students, as well as a fairly new and varied mode of presentation in order to sustain or develop (in the case of the more recalcitrant) motivation. Closed circuit television is used to present communication situations which, although they were created by a scenario-writer and played out by actors, are very natural and deal with themes of direct interest to adolescents. The dialogues are then taken up again in a more traditional way in class with the help of a tape and a film strip and then in the language laboratory. What is especially interesting is the breaking up of the class into smaller groups which give themselves over to different learning activities : individual work of written comprehension (which students can follow at home by borrowing brochures), of oral comprehension (individual listening with receivers to radio programmes), pattern drills in the language laboratory, conversation around a table with five or six persons and the teacher.

These courses which illustrate certain possible ways of using multi-media systems in the learning of second languages, are for the moment merely timid initiatives within the perspective we have outlined. In fact, they only partly take into consideration the variety of language needs and learning strategies of the publics involved, and offer a pedagogic material which is

relatively little diversified in respect of content as well as presentation. A great deal remains to be done to gear multi-media systems to the specific needs and learning strategies of the publics concerned.

It may seem surprising that, having begun with the contribution of language sciences to the diversification of teaching methods for foreign languages, we should end up in the field of educational technology. The reason is that the contributions of both to the elaboration of diversified learning systems for second languages are indissociable. A very sophisticated multi-media course which ignores the contribution of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics to knowledge of the mechanisms of communicative competence, has as little chance of attaining its objectives as a course based on a very elaborated linguistic description of the second language, but which does not take into account the contribution of pedagogy and educational technology. Also, it seems appropriate to quickly develop interdisciplinary teams for the production of learning systems which will be capable of combining harmoniously and efficiently the contribution of the disciplines concerned to the benefit of learners.

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